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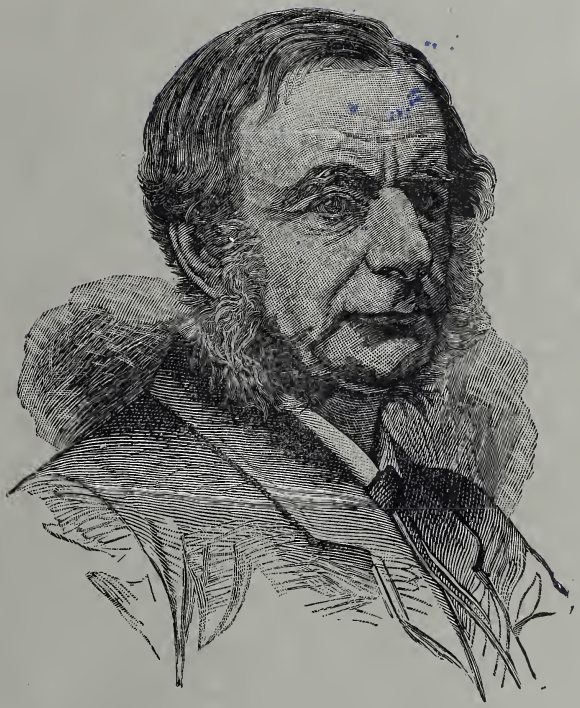
CHARLES KINGSLEY



FABIAN BIOGRAPHICAL SERIES

No. 5.

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Fabian Tract No. 174.

CHARLES KINGSLEY AND CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM . . .

By COLWYN E. VULLIAMY

Biographical Series No. 5. Price Threepence. Published and sold by the Fabian Society, at the Fabian Bookshop, 11 Dartmouth Street, Westminster, S.W.1. . . Published January, 1914; reprinted January, 1923. . . Second reprint October 1935.

Charles Kingsley and Christian Socialism.

The Christian Socialists.

"All great poets," says Kingsley's Chartist hero, "are by their office democrats." Perhaps it may be said with equal truth that all real Christians are by their profession Socialists. The vital religions never have fought shy, and never can fight shy, of the social problem. The existence of poverty and evil is contrary to the religious ideal, and is in continual opposition to the religious doctrines. The founders of the Christian Church were very clear on this point. The poor and oppressed were in a special sense God's children, and their presence in society indicated a state of affairs which the Church was foremost in denouncing and in seeking to correct. Maurice, the originator of modern Christian Socialism, never hesitated to affirm the necessity for the co-operation of Church and State in any sound scheme of social reform, and his teaching lays stress on the "radical affinity" between the principles of religion and the practice of Socialism. More, he believed in the direct action of the Church in politics and industrial regulation. That the Christian Socialist Movement has exercised considerable influence in both directions is beyond dispute.

Before considering the position of Charles Kingsley in this movement and his special influence, it will be well to give, first, some idea of the movement itself, and then a short account of the man whose teaching and personality led to its formation—Frederick Denison Maurice.

English Socialism and the Co-operative Idea may be regarded as of twin birth. The work of Robert Owen has been already dealt with in this series; it is not necessary here to describe his theories and reforms in detail. The wonderful, almost quixotic, romance of the New Lanark mills, raised wages, reduced hours, free education and amusements, cheap provisions, and habitable dwellings—all this is well known, and so are Owen's magnificent schemes for the general organization of industries and the free instruction of the whole community. Had the more reasonable of Owen's proposals been peacefully and persistently urged, it is likely that democratic advance during the first half of the last century would have been much more rapid. Unfortunately, the democratic cause fell into the hands of O'Connor and his "physical force" Chartists, and with the fiasco of April 10th, 1848, when the Charter was trundled to its doom in a hackney cab and its heroes dispersed by the householder constables, it seemed as though the rights of the people had suffered a crushing defeat. But this was not so. Stimulated largely by the success of the Rochdale experiment, the co-operative

schemes again came to the fore, and plans for industrial and social reform were both voiced by the new movement, which, a year or two later, was known as Christian Socialism. Realizing the finer elements of Chartism, and deeply conscious of the suffering of the people, a group of devoted workers gathered round their leader, Maurice, and by means of an extremely vigorous propaganda, untiring personal labor, and the launching and financing of co-operative concerns, sought to "assert God's order," and to establish a system of brotherhood and mutual help.

The Christian Socialists were by no means revolutionary. They were in some respects conservative—Kingsley always asserted the value of an aristocracy—and believed rather in a restoration than in a reformation of society. They did not seek to reconstruct society, but to avail themselves of the resources of the existing society, which they considered as a divine institution, soiled and corrupted by the evil practices of men, and above all by the spirit of competition. Their strength lay in the noble ideals which they set before the working men. Their weakness lay in the obvious limitations of their dogma, and perhaps also in their conception of the natural goodness of men and in a false theory of society. By 1850 they had already promoted twelve co-operative associations, all of them in trades which were then untransformed by the use of machinery—tailors, shoemakers, builders, piano-makers, printers, smiths, and bakers. It should be pointed out that the Christian Socialist theory of co-operation differed from the Rochdale plan in its fundamental principle. The Rochdale co-operatives adopted the Owenite "elimination of profit" scheme, and formed an association of consumers, with benefits according to the amount purchased; the Christian Socialists advocated the association of producers, with benefits according to labor. The commercial failure of their enterprises was mainly caused by the fact that in small co-operative concerns run on these lines it was impossible to destroy the competitive element.

The idea of the movement was the application of the religious principle to economic problems, with special emphasis on *the supreme importance of individual character*. The life of the movement was short. After some four years of admirable and heroic effort, and the sacrifice in some cases of health and fortune, they were compelled to abandon their schemes for the regeneration of industry. But although they had failed as a working organization, they had set an example which profoundly influenced the trend of English Socialism and has yielded a richer harvest than any of them could have foreseen. And it may be questioned whether, continuing their individual efforts independently, they did not accomplish more than they could have done had they remained united, and possibly restricted, in close association.

Taken from the religious standpoint, they differed from the great Anglican Revival—the Oxford Movement—in this respect: that instead of bringing the people to the Church, they were concerned rather with bringing the Church to the people.

The literature of the Christian Socialists will be dealt with in the course of this essay ; it is time now to give attention to their leader and prophet.

F. D. Maurice.

Frederick Denison Maurice has been described as "certainly the most typical theologian of the nineteenth century." In addition to his great theological and metaphysical learning, he possessed what was then a rather unusual thing in a clergyman—a sturdy democratic spirit. His literary career began early. When a Cambridge undergraduate in 1825 he edited a paper, called the *Metropolitan Quarterly Magazine*, with his friend Whitmore. Most of the contributors were fellow undergraduates, and among them John Stuart Mill, who wrote an attack on *Blackwood's Magazine*, under the title of "The New School for Cockneyism." The *Metropolitan* ceased publication after four issues. After having contributed to the *Athenæum*, he became editor, in 1828 (at the age of twenty-three), but resigned the following year. By 1830 he had completed a novel, "Eustace Conway," which was published about four years later. It was at this period that he removed to Oxford and made the acquaintance of Gladstone, who was then an undergraduate. In 1834 he took orders, and was soon drawn into the pamphleteer controversies which characterized the theological history of that period. "Subscription No Bondage" was written in 1835. From this period he broke away from the Oxford School. Pusey's writings contained "everything he did not think and did not believe," and Pusey, on his part, was "exceedingly angry" with Maurice's tract on Baptism, published in 1837. This year he married Miss Anna Barton, the daughter of General Barton, of the 2nd Life Guards.

In 1838 began a bitter warfare on the part of the religious newspapers, which continued, with little intermission, during his entire lifetime. Carlyle's influence was at this period affecting all ranks of intellectual society. Maurice attended his lectures, but his agreement with Carlyle was only partial, and he sometimes denounced his words and manner as "wild pantheistic rant." The inefficiency of the Church saddened him. "The Church is in a sad state ; we all know that—little light, little life." In 1840 he edited the *Educational Magazine*. He became Professor of Theology at King's College and Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn in 1845. The following year he was visited by Ludlow, who sought his aid in a scheme "to bear the leisure and good feeling of the Inns of Court upon the destitution and vice of the neighborhood," a phrase which leaves one in doubt as to its exact meaning. He was active in the establishment of Queen's College, and was assisted by Kingsley, at a later stage, on the committee.

Politics for the People, the first periodical issued by the new Socialists (the term Christian Socialist was not currently employed until two years later), was first published under Maurice's direction on May 6th, 1848. It ran through three months of publication, and came to an end in July, having reached a weekly circulation of two

thousand copies. Maurice now held meetings of his friends once a week at his house in Queen Square; he also organized bible classes and night schools. Ludlow had persuaded the Chartist tailor, Walter Cooper, to hear Maurice preaching at Lincoln's Inn, and this, in April, 1849, led to his first meeting with Chartist working men at the Cranbourne tavern. These meetings were continued and were attended by several clergymen. The period of full activity was about to commence. "The time had come in my father's life," writes his son, "when it was certain that a movement of which he would be the leader must begin."

The little band of workers were formally organized as the Christian Socialists in 1850, and the first number of their organ, the *Christian Socialist*, with Ludlow as editor, was published on November 1st. Maurice's contributions were not numerous.

Both Maurice and his friends were subjected to a wild and bitterly unjust attack from the pen of one Croker in the *Quarterly* for September, 1851. In spite of its manifest exaggeration and open malignity, it did much to inflame public opinion against the Socialists. During the great Iron Trades Strike of 1852 the Christian Socialists were energetic on behalf of the men. The strike was a failure; the men were forced to return to work at the old terms and to abandon their union.

After a prolonged discussion, Maurice was expelled from King's College in 1853 (November), owing to certain opinions expressed in his "Theological Essays"—a publication which could not fail, at such a juncture, to provoke controversy. The whole affair gained a wide publicity. The opinions of the press wavered: Maurice was condemned on the one hand and applauded on the other; to the Broad Churchmen he was a victim, to the High Churchmen a heretic. From conscientious motives he resigned his position at Queen's College the following month—a position to which he returned, in reply to the solicitation of the entire Council, three years later. The survey of his last years must be condensed. He was particularly interested in the instruction of women of the working classes and in the Working Men's College. A series of "Tracts for Priests and People" was written by Maurice and his friends during 1861-2, and published in the latter year. At the same time, after many years of labor, his great work on "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy" was printed. Towards the close of his life he became more and more absorbed in polemical and theological discussions and in every kind of doctrinal controversy. He died in 1872, at the age of sixty-six.

Maurice possessed a vast personal influence over the men with whom he was brought into contact, and especially over the leaders of the Christian Socialist Movement, who were in turn led by his unanswerable resolution, his loyalty, and his calm endurance. For example, he was able to suppress Lord Ripon's pamphlet on Democracy ("The Duty of the Age") by the mere weight of his objection, even after the pamphlet had been printed and was ready to be distributed. He was the intellect and the scholar of the move-

ment ; his disciple, Kingsley, humanized his ideas and set them in a form " understanded of the people." *

Charles Kingsley—Early Years.

Descended from men who had fought at Naseby and Minden, the son of a country gentleman whose mismanaged fortune was the cause of his entering the Church, Charles Kingsley was born at Holne Vicarage, in Devonshire, on June 12th, 1819. His father was a man of many talents and a keen sportsman, and it was from him, doubtless, that Kingsley inherited that open-air temperament which was always so characteristic. Kingsley's child-play seems to have been divided between the Army and the Church. He was either engaged upon fortification work or he was preaching in his pinafore to an imaginary congregation. His first poem, a very solemn reflection on human mortality, was written at the age of four years and eight months. It is not possible to give his boyhood in detail, but one episode must certainly be dwelt upon.

When a lad of twelve he was sent to school at Clifton, and it was here that, to use his own words, he " received his first lesson in social science." The Bristol riots had begun in the autumn of 1831, and it was in the following year that Kingsley, fascinated, as schoolboys are wont to be, by the horror and excitement of a " row," evaded supervision and went forth to see for himself. It was a nauseating affair. Demos, in true Caliban mood, had broached casks of spirit upon the paving-stones, had defied the soldiers, who sat motionless, orderless on their horses, the blood streaming from their faces ; had plundered, burned and violated in full sight of trembling and hesitating authority. The flames from a burning house ignited the spirit in a gutter ; in one instant a blazing torrent of fire rushed down upon the drunken wretches and left behind it a line of blackened corpses—Demos, to the accompaniment of outrage and suicide, continuing his frenzied debauch. The scene produced the one possible effect on a questioning and intelligent mind : " That sight," he said, " made me a Radical."

College Days and Curacy.

After a two-year's course as a day student at King's College (his father at that time having the living of Chelsea), he gained a scholarship—much to his own surprise—at Magdalene, Cambridge. He was extremely popular with his fellow-undergraduates of every description. Like all imaginative men, he found enjoyment in all kinds of society. His life was one of extraordinary mental and physical activity, though, in the academic sense, he never distinguished himself. In Kingsley, a young man possessed of a vehement and challenging spirit, the restlessness of his age became at times a veritable fever. The Tractarian Movement was in full force. It was a period of fierce and disquieting controversies. His sense of religion

* Unlike Kingsley, Maurice was never at his ease when talking to individuals of the manual working class. His manner on such occasions was timid and conventional.

was overclouded. To escape from the strain of his own searching and wearing thoughts he "went in for excitement of every kind"—horses, duck-shooting, fencing, boxing, boating, and so forth. His acquaintance, through his writings, with Carlyle and his philosophy helped to ballast his unsteady and wavering opinions. It is probable, too, that friendship with another undergraduate, Charles Mansfield, proved a good influence.

The story of Mansfield's short life is particularly touching. He possessed an unusual brilliance of conversation, the most intense faith that right was might, and that there was indeed a God in the heavens. He was a student of chemistry, and became so distinguished in this science that men saw in him the successor of Faraday. In due time he became one of the Christian Socialists, and his death, which occurred as the result of an accident in the laboratory, was a grievous loss to the movement, and especially to Kingsley. From Mansfield Kingsley acquired that zeal for sanitary reform and for the institution of a sound national hygiene which became pronounced in his later activities.

Kingsley had at one time considered the law as a profession, but in 1841 he decided upon entering the Church. In striking and very significant words he announces his devotion to "the religion which I have scorned," begins a course of desperately hard reading for his degree, cramming three years' work into six months of unceasing labor, emerges from the trial with a first in classics and senior optime in mathematics, reads for Holy Orders, and is ordained in the July of 1842. During this period of preparation, and, indeed, ever since the summer of 1839, when he first met her, Miss Pascoe Grenfell, the lady who was to be his wife (a *summum bonum* which he then despaired of), was the confidant of his thoughts, hopes and perplexities, and the kind admonitress of his troubled spirit. It was she who introduced him to the writings of Carlyle, Coleridge, and Maurice; it was she who consoled and strengthened him in the midst of doubt; and we may be pretty certain that it was for her sake that he worked so hard and so manfully when once the clear road lay before him. During the interval between leaving Cambridge and entering upon his curate life, he began his "Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary," illustrated with his own drawings. "It was not intended for publication, but as a gift to his wife on his marriage day, if that day should ever come." On July 17th he first ministered in Eversley Church—the church which was destined to be his for more than thirty years.

He seems to have found the parish of Eversley in a lamentable condition. The population were traditional smugglers and poachers. The squire had been a Prince Regent's man—a hard-riding, hard-drinking person, and "a strict game preserver." Of Kingsley's rector I can learn little. Available records are silent. Perhaps we may form a sufficient judgment of his character from the fact that he absconded in 1844. Kingsley's manliness, his plain speaking and preaching, and his skill at fisticuffs rapidly gained him the friendship and respect of the villagers. The poacher and the poet, two

democratic products, have always fraternized in spirit. Here was a parson who was some good at last: the empty church began to fill.

At the end of 1843 Kingsley took leave of his bachelor quarters at the corner of Eversley Green, having been offered the curacy of Pimperne. In January, 1844, he married Miss Grenfell, and, the living of Eversley becoming unexpectedly vacant, he received the appointment, and the newly married pair took up their abode in Eversley Rectory.

The Working Classes in 1844.

It is by no means unimportant that we should try to form some idea of the industrial and rural conditions of this period. Chartism was rampant. The strikes of 1842, when wheat stood at sixty-five shillings a quarter, and sabotage and violence were general, had ended, but now (1844) a fierce dispute was in progress between the masters and men of the northern collieries. The men were beaten, but their defeat led to the enlistment of 30,000 as physical-force Chartists. The misery of the industrial workers was almost beyond belief. The treatment they received from their employers was so barbarous and so overbearingly despotic that the facts read like some black and impossible fantasy of the imagination. A very remarkable young man of twenty-three was collecting material for his book on the working classes of England. He was a German, and his name was Frederick Engels. From his book—the saddest and most terrible record of that period—I must give one or two typical illustrations.

Of the London slums he says: "The streets are generally unpaved, rough, dirty, filled with vegetable and animal refuse, without sewers or gutters, but supplied with foul, stagnant pools instead. . . . . Scarcely a whole window-pane can be found, the walls are crumbling, doorposts and window-frames loose and broken, doors of old boards nailed together. . . . . Heaps of garbage and ashes lie in all directions, and the foul liquids emptied before the doors gather in stinking pools. Here live the poorest of the poor; the worst paid workers with thieves and the victims of prostitution indiscriminately huddled together. . . . ." But this is nothing compared with the state of the factory hands. The facts with regard to the employment of women are too horrible to be detailed; vice and disease, the criminal tyranny of overseers, the violation of every right of womanhood and motherhood—it is as well to pass by these things in silence. Let me quote from his indictory paragraph: "Women made unfit for child-bearing, children deformed, men enfeebled, limbs crushed, whole generations wrecked, afflicted with disease and infirmity . . . . children seized naked in bed by the overlookers and driven with kicks and blows to the factory, their clothing over their arms . . . . their sleepiness is driven off with blows. . . . ." Turn to the country districts: "The laborer lays snares or shoots here and there a piece of game. It does not injure the landlord . . . . for he has a vast superfluity. . . . But if he is caught he goes to jail, and for a second offence receives *at the least seven years' transportation.* Fro-

the severity of these laws arise the frequent bloody conflicts with gamekeepers, which lead to *a number of murders every year.*" The general misery was greatly increased by the influx of Irish laborers, especially to the towns, and the consequent lowering of wages. It is not to be wondered at that even the *Times* spoke with a democratic accent!

Pastor in Parochia.

Kingsley was an ideal parish priest. He came to a sorely neglected village, and won first of all the good will, and finally the deep affection, of his parishioners. This was due less to the admirable series of village institutions which he founded than to his real sympathy with the people. He could talk to them, with understanding and interest, on subjects that are seldom within the scope of the ecclesiastical mind—the crops, the weather, the hunting field, pike fishing, the ways of birds and animals, nature lore, and shrewd maxims of sport. His sermons were manly and direct. His care for the suffering was less the performance of a duty than a free act of devotion. There was little incident outside the home circle during the first years of Eversley life. His first child, a daughter, was born in 1846, and his eldest son in 1847. With the crash of 1848 Kingsley began his Socialist work, and the disastrous April 10th found the Rector of Eversley in London.

Chartism.

Kingsley was already known to Maurice. He had attended the meetings of bible scholars at Maurice's house in 1847, and they had corresponded extensively. To Maurice he went therefore to see what could be done to prevent a collision between troops and Chartists. Maurice was confined to the house with a severe cold, but he sent Kingsley to Ludlow with a letter of introduction. The two men set out for Kennington Common, where the Chartists were to assemble, but at Waterloo Bridge they heard of the ignominious dispersal of the demonstrators and returned to Maurice with the news. From this moment we may trace the inception of the Christian Socialist Movement. The band of men who were to lead the movement had already met—Maurice, Hare, Ludlow, Mansfield, Scott, Parker, Hughes, Kingsley, and, later on, E. Vansittart Neale.

The day following the Chartist fiasco Kingsley wrote to his wife: "All as quiet as a mouse as yet. The storm is blown over till to-morrow, but all are under arms—specials, police, and military. Mr. Maurice is in great excitement, and we are getting out placards for the walls, to speak a word for God with. You must let me stay up to-night, for I am helping in a glorious work. . . ." Kingsley's placard, which may be considered as an attempt to dissuade the workers from direct political action and from the belief that a political remedy would suffice for the evils of the times, was posted all over London on the 11th. "Friends, you want more than Acts of Parliament can give. . . . Workers of England, be wise, and then you must be free, for you will be fit to be free."

However little Maurice and his friends sympathized with physical force Chartism, they recognized that Chartism in general, as an act of insurgency against the fearful social iniquities of that period, did actually represent the claims of an oppressed and degraded people. Kingsley, addressing a meeting of workmen some time later began: "I am a Church of England parson"—a long pause; then, defiantly—"and a Chartist." Accordingly the pages of their first periodical (or, rather, their first series of tracts) made a special appeal to Chartists, whilst seeking to convince them of the folly and wrong of open violence, and glorying in the success of the householder constables. The first number of this publication (consisting of sixteen quarto pages, and issued weekly at one penny) came out on May 6th, and was called *Politics for the People*. The paper was jointly edited by Maurice and Ludlow, and, in addition to their contributions, papers were written by Archbishop Whately, Archbishop Trench, Bishop Thirlwall, Dean Stanley, Professor Connington, Dr. Guy, Charles Mansfield, A. J. Scott, Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne, Sir Edward Strachey, and Charles Kingsley. Maurice's chief contributions were: "Dialogues in the Penny Boats"; "Liberty: a Dialogue between a French Propagandist, an English Laborer, and the Editor"; "Equality," another dialogue; papers on historical subjects and education; and a Chartist story. Kingsley, besides "Parson Lot's Letters to Chartists," wrote articles on the National Gallery and the British Museum. All the articles were unsigned or signed by a *nom de plume*. Although short-lived, as we have seen, *Politics for the People* had considerable influence, and did good work in consolidating the new movement, in spreading its ideas, and in gaining enthusiastic recruits.

Socialist Activities.

Their activities were now chiefly directed to the work of education; classes were formed, and the friends met each week for study and discussion. Kingsley's first novel, "Yeast," came out during the autumn in *Fraser's Magazine*. This book, which at once established his reputation as a novelist, attracted a great deal of notice, partly hostile and partly appreciative, and was the means of arousing an interest in the sporting parson of Eversley which continued and increased during his whole lifetime. This is not the place for literary comment. The book is still widely read, and, in spite of a rather outworn sentimentalism and the tiresome character of its heroine, remains a very vital piece of work, endeared for ever to sportsmen by its wonderfully observant and broadly painted descriptions. Worn out by the mental and emotional strain of the past months, Kingsley spent the early part of 1849 recovering his health in Devonshire, and did not resume work at Eversley until the summer. Before returning to his parish he visited London, attended several meetings of working men, and joined in the activities of the Christian workers. Maurice was now addressing the Chartist leaders and other working men at the Cranbourne Coffee Tavern. "I was abashed," he wrote, "by the good opinion they had formed of me on no evidence." And later,

writing to Kingsley, "They seem to think it a very wonderful thing that a clergyman should be willing to come among them—a sad proof how far we have gone from our proper position." It must be remembered that at this time there was a lamentable want of sympathy between the Church and laboring men, and that the very fact of a man being a "parson" was enough to drive him off the platform at a public meeting. Sometimes there were stirring scenes at the Cranbourne Tavern. On one occasion the National Anthem was hissed. Hughes, like an evangelical Desmoulins, sprang on a chair, vowed that any man who insulted the Queen would have an account to settle with him personally (he was a proficient pugilist), ordered the pianist to play on loudly, and himself led the singing of the Anthem, which was continued so vociferously that interruption was either quelled or was drowned by the mere tumult.

The idea of co-operation, which was oddly associated in the minds of the workmen *with anti-Christian views*, began to make progress, and the Socialists were occupied with schemes for the launching of the small co-operative concerns to which I have referred. Ludlow had visited Paris, and had been greatly interested in the success of the *Associations Ouvrières*. He was convinced that a similar scheme of association would go far towards solving the industrial problem in England, even if it did not offer the complete solution. The workmen were equally anxious for an effective form of co-operation: the Tailors' Association had been launched, and other organizations were speedily planned.

Towards the autumn of 1849 cholera broke out in London and in other parts of the country. What is remarkable is that, with sanitary affairs in such a deplorably neglected condition, the outbreak was not more disastrous than was actually the case. Eversley seems to have escaped, but a formidable low fever to which many of his parishioners fell victims kept Kingsley hard at work during the summer, until, worn out by the anxiety of bed-side vigils—for the rector himself often undertook the duties of a sick nurse—he was obliged to seek health once more on the Devonshire coast. He returned to his parish in September, and set to work with magnificent energy. The cholera was now causing great uneasiness in London. An inquiry into the state of the metropolitan water supply revealed the most scandalous things. In the poorer quarters of London conditions still remained as Engels had described them five years previously. The people had no water fit for drinking. The common sewers were filled with stagnant horrors, in which floated the putrefying bodies of cats and dogs, dead fish, and filth unspeakable. With the cholera at its height the poor wretches dipped cans into the sewer-water—and drank it. In Bermondsey (which Kingsley visited) the distress was terrible. Such a man as Kingsley could not witness these scenes without being stung to the heart, and his efforts for sanitary reform were redoubled. Much of the subsequent improvement in these matters was due to his persistent—one might well say impassioned—labor.

He was at this time writing reviews for *Fraser's Magazine*, and was shaping "Alton Locke"—a book written in a white-heat of excitement and zeal. "Yeast" had made a deep appeal to the younger minds and the universities, and Eversley Rectory was already sought out by scholars and young men with problems.

In the Fulness of Power.

The year 1850 marks the flood-tide of the Christian Socialist Movement. Individualist co-operation was risking its decisive experiment. Mainly under the guidance of E. Vansittart Neale, and the general supervision of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, the twelve co-operative enterprises were organized and financed.* Neale was the hero and the practical director. Until his death, in 1893, he devoted life and fortune to the cause of industrial unity.

The failure, in a few years time, of the Christian Socialist experiment was due to a misconception of the real economic conditions of the time, an exaggerated belief in the spirit of brotherhood, and the absence of a thorough knowledge of the market. It was found impossible to eliminate competition. Each association was perfectly autonomous with regard to its own management. The result was that the men quarrelled with their managers, were slow to admit new members, and, finally, sought to compete with the other groups. I may as well anticipate matters by stating that the Society of Promoters dissolved in 1854, having completely drained their financial resources.

1850 was a hard year for Kingsley and for all classes. Feeling deeply for the local farmers, who found it difficult enough to struggle against high rates and poor prices, Kingsley, by an impulse of generosity which was never forgotten (for he was himself a poor man), gave them back 10 per cent. of the tithe money. At the same time he decided upon that unfailing resource of the country rector—a private pupil. The stress of money matters induced him to proceed apace with "Alton Locke"—whether the last chapters of this book bear evidence of having been written in a hurry I leave for others to decide. He rose at five every morning and slaved at the MS. until breakfast time. The printer's copy was prepared by his wife, and he supervised her work in the evening. The difficulty was to find the printer. Kingsley was attracting too much attention for the more timorous and conservative publishing houses, and the publishers of "Yeast" fought shy of the offer. To his rescue in this predicament came Thomas Carlyle with an introduction to Messrs. Chapman and Hall.

"Alton Locke."

"Alton Locke," the commemorative novel of the Chartist period, and a burning comment on trade conditions, gave rise to so much discussion, and is of such importance to the subjects dealt with in

* The zeal of the Promoters is well illustrated by the fact that they were accustomed to hold their meetings at six o'clock in the morning.

this essay, that we must give it rather more attention than was accorded to "Yeast." In incident and style it conforms to the early Victorian heavy weight model. Few of the standard essentials are lacking. We are even treated to the classic drawing-room-piano scene, and the touches of sentiment are laid on in liberal brushfuls. None the less it is a production of great force and eloquent appeal. Professing to have been written by a working man, the crudeness mentioned by Carlyle is not out of place, and it certainly contains one splendidly drawn character—that of the old Scotch democrat, Mackaye. It was a very clear and disquieting exposure of the "slop trade," and directed the public mind to unsuspected evils. It appealed for greater efficiency in the Church, greater respect for the workman, and a more qualified regard for the "scented Belgravian" and the aristocrat. Above all, it enlisted the sympathies of a sentimental but potent *bourgeoisie*. It was mocked by the elegant reviewers, made light of by the High Churchmen, but was bought and read by thousands. Carlyle has summed up the book admirably when he describes it as ". . . a fervid creation still left half chaotic."

Publication of the "Christian Socialist."

Maurice's workers had now officially announced themselves as the Christian Socialists, and had renewed their literary activities. They were publishing a series of "Tracts on Christian Socialism" as a means of circulating their teaching, and on November 15th they issued the first number of their new periodical, the *Christian Socialist*. Kingsley had written "Cheap Clothes and Nasty" for the tract series under the pseudonym of Parson Lot, and became a contributor to the magazine.

The *Christian Socialist* was edited by Ludlow, and was beset with difficulties from the very start. The newspapers had attacked the movement in the most violent and apparently scandalized manner. It was no easy business to obtain a circulation for the new venture. The booksellers took up a prudish and circumspect attitude, and refused to stock copies. Writing to a friend in December, Kingsley stated that the circulation had risen to 1,500, and was increasing. It is doubtful whether these figures were greatly exceeded. So little interest was at first evinced by the public that the press was almost silent with regard to the magazine, and its influence was imperceptible. Maurice, it would seem, had never looked upon its publication with much favor. He had attempted to dissuade Ludlow from the undertaking—possibly because he feared its political character would become too pronounced—though he realized the importance of possessing some medium through which the whole movement might be linked together and its scattered workers kept in touch with the central idea.

Maurice himself wrote very little for it. Beyond some letters on education, written in the form of a correspondence between himself and an M.P., and the story of "Thomas Bradfoot, Schoolmaster," his contributions were of no great significance. He was anxious that other opinions besides his own should find expression in the

paper, although when the difference was too decided, he always interfered, and his objection was sufficient to ensure the withdrawal of the offending article.

There were at this time monthly conferences between the leaders of the movement and the workmen associates for the discussion of all vital points.

The Act of Parliament.

In Parliament, Slaney was using every endeavor to procure an Act legalizing the new co-operative and investment schemes, and securing them the protection, if not the encouragement, of the State. He obtained a Special Committee to enquire into the "investments for the savings of the middle and working classes." It was natural that this Committee should turn to the Christian Socialists for information on a subject to which they were known to have given a very close attention, and on which they had ascertained the exact views of the working men. Ludlow was accordingly the first witness examined. Hughes, Neale, and other members of the Society of Promoters followed, amongst them Walter Cooper, the Chartist. Some of the most weighty and conclusive evidence was given by John Stuart Mill, who spoke in vehement terms in favor of the scheme, i.e., the investment of working men's savings in co-operative concerns. The report of this Committee had been published in July, and, along with its promoters, had drawn upon itself the fire of both great and little guns in the journalistic batteries. The history of this Parliamentary agitation is interesting.

The Home Secretary, Labouchere, requested Ludlow to draft a Bill for legalizing co-operative associations. Nothing could have given him greater pleasure, but the draft demanded such an alarming legal reformation that Labouchere grew timid, expressed his admiration both for Ludlow and the Bill, but did not proceed any further with the matter.

In 1851 Mr. Slaney obtained a new Committee "to consider the Law of Partnership and the expediency of facilitating the limitations of liability, with a view to encourage useful enterprise and the additional employment of labor." All this sonority seems to have had little effect, for it was not until a year afterwards that Slaney finally succeeded in getting the Bill once again to the fore, and it was safely passed by both Houses (under a Conservative Ministry) on June 11th, 1852. Such, in brief, is the story of the first "Industrial and Provident Partnerships Bill," a private measure introduced by Slaney and Tufnell, Liberals, and Sotheron, a Conservative.

Eversley in 1850.

It was in the autumn or early winter of 1850 that the celebrated attack on Eversley Rectory took place. A neighboring clergyman had been murdered by a gang of housebreakers, who were at that time terrorizing the countryside, and the Rectory had scarcely been barricaded and its weapons of defence made ready before it was

attacked by the same gang. In the middle of the night the marauders were heard trying to force the back door. Down the stairs rushed the male inmates, with pistols, guns, and a gaping blunderbuss; the "coolest man among them," and the only one unarmed, being F. D. Maurice, who was then paying a visit to Kingsley. Maurice strode out into the darkness in pursuit. He was recalled by Kingsley, and the two men spent the remainder of the night over the study fire, their discourse continuing until the dawn.

Already Kingsley had to deal with a vast correspondence. Young men who could not make up their minds with regard to eternal punishment and other stumbling-blocks of dogma; good fellows in the services who wished for a word of advice or prayers for camp and shipboard; men whose hearts had been stirred by his books. Never, I suppose, was a country rector the recipient of so much appreciation and questioning. No genuine letter was left unanswered. Kingsley had the tenderest sympathy for these corresponding disciples, and his replies show the thoroughness with which he answered their doubts or satisfied their requirements. All the time he was working hard for the welfare of his parish and was much occupied with his pupil, Martineau.

A letter written from Dr. Jelf, the Principal of King's College, to Maurice, in 1851, shows the attitude of the orthodox and outraged mind with regard to Kingsley's books and essays. Archdeacon Hare had accused him of conceit and irreverence a few years before, but Dr. Jelf is even more outspoken. He cannot express too much horror and indignation. Kingsley is a dangerous and reckless writer. He is indescribably irreverent. His arguments are in a high degree inflammatory. "In fact," says Dr. Jelf, rising to the height of his denunciation, "his language is *almost insurrectionary*." And, moreover, he is associated with "several notorious infidels," and has actually mentioned Tom Paine. It was largely on account of his friendship with Kingsley that Maurice was expelled from the College.

Towards the end of 1850 Kingsley resigned his post as Lecturer at Queen's College, in consequence of an attack in the *Record*.

"Hypatia" was begun as a serial in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1851. He contributed largely to the *Christian Socialist*—fifteen articles—besides a story and some ballads and sonnets. He would have written more for this paper were it not for the fact that he was obliged to earn as much as possible with his pen, and the *Christian Socialist* did not pay its contributors. He reprinted "Yeast," which was published anonymously. The Christian Socialist Movement was hotly attacked by the press, and notably by the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*. Kingsley would not trust himself to read the more personal of these attacks. He was a man whose quick temper and great sensitiveness were sure to lead him into the temptation of violent retort. The *Guardian*, however, had fallen foul of "Yeast" in no measured terms, and had brought such preposterous charges against the author that he wrote a furious denial. In May he delivered a lecture for the Society of Promoters on "The Applica-

tion of Associative Principles and Methods to Agriculture," and in the summer was invited to preach one of the special sermons to working men who had come to London for the Great Exhibition.

"The Message of the Church."

This sermon—"The Message of the Church to Laboring Men"—led to the most extraordinary results. It was preached to a large congregation, mainly of the working classes, and produced a powerful effect. Kingsley had concluded his sermon and was about to give the blessing, when the incumbent of the church, whose name, I believe, was Drew, approached the reading-desk and denounced the preacher before the entire congregation. He agreed with much that had been said, but it was his "painful duty" to characterize portions of the sermon as "dangerous and untrue." This unheard-of scene caused a great sensation. Murmurs were heard; the workmen pressed forward to the pulpit steps and grasped Kingsley by the hand. As the sermon itself was judged to be the best defence, it was decided in the vestry that it should be printed at once without the alteration of a single word. The affair was taken up by the press; Kingsley was forbidden by the Bishop of London (Blomfield) to preach in the metropolis; large numbers of the clergy and of his admirers sent messages of sympathy to Eversley; and a meeting of workmen, held at Kennington Common, expressed their allegiance to the parson who spoke so manfully on their behalf, and invited him "*to start a free church independent of episcopal rule*, with the promise of a large following." The sermon was now printed, and Blomfield, when he saw the truth of the matter, not only sent for Kingsley (and apologized, we may hope), telling him that he actually approved of the discourse, but immediately withdrew his prohibition.

Trade Unionism.—"Hypatia."

The Christian Socialists were naturally well known to the leaders of Trade Unionism, and it followed that, when the great strike of engineers and iron-workers took place in 1852, impetuous men like Hughes and Ludlow felt their fingers tingling for the conflict. The views of the promoters were varied: some urged one thing and some another. Maurice was fearful lest they should commit themselves to a desperate and ill-judged action. At the beginning of the year the *Christian Socialist* had boldly cast off its disguise and changed its title to the *Journal of Association*, under the editorship of Hughes. The *Journal* lost no time in appealing to the "self-sacrifice, pluck and character" of the men of the amalgamated trades. Ludlow and Hughes sought to agitate public opinion by all possible means: they lectured, wrote to a great number of newspapers, and supported the strike by subscriptions. Although the strike ended in disaster, the hand of friendship had not been extended to the trade unionists in vain, and the sympathy thus established between the more important trade associations and the Christian Socialists led to extremely practical results when, in 1854, the Working Men's College was founded.

Fraser's Magazine for January had contained a criticism of the Socialists, which Kingsley decided to answer. He was, perhaps, somewhat annoyed that his enemies should find a means of expression in the very magazine which was publishing "Hypatia" as a serial—it was a new aspect of journalistic etiquette. After conference with Maurice, who cooled the first transports of his resentment, Kingsley finally evolved "Who are the Friends of Order? A reply to certain observations in a late number of *Fraser's Magazine*." It was printed by E. Lumley and J. J. Bezer, the latter "a man who had been set up as a publisher by the promoters, no living publisher venturing to commit himself to the risk of publishing . . . either the *Christian Socialist* or the Tracts." Bezer was described by Hughes as Morowψ, or "the one-eyed Chartist costermonger."

The *Journal of Association* came to an end this year, and Kingsley, in a final letter by "Parson Lot," urged his fellow-workers to "say little and work the more." Eversley and its democratic parson were now gaining notoriety. Kingsley seems to have been a popular man with soldiers, and officers from Sandhurst would frequently walk over to see him. His sermons were so vigorous and so powerfully delivered that he always preached to a full church, and, although a man of great rhetorical ability, his discourses were as keenly followed by the farm hand or the stableman as by the scholar. "Hypatia" was published in book form in 1853. As a literary attainment it must rank before any of his other works. To a modern reader, fascinated by the color and graphic detail of the story, it seems remarkable that, when published first, the book caused angry excitement among the High Churchmen, by whom it was regarded as a kind of masked attack, which, indeed, it was. Ten years later, when Kingsley's name had been suggested for the D.C.L. of Oxford, the High Church party raised the voice of protest. Dr. Pusey was scandalized to a degree. Why, good gracious! This was the fellow who had written "Hypatia," a most vile and profligate book inciting the youth to heterodoxy, and worse, if worse were possible, an *immoral* book. Under threat of a *non-placet* the name was withdrawn. Maurice's "Theological Essays" were published the same year (1853), and outraged the doctrines of the Puseyites even more than Kingsley had outraged their self-respect. His expulsion from King's College followed, and Kingsley was vehement in defending his "dear master" and in scourging his enemies.

Disbanded.

With the collapse of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations and the failure of the co-operative businesses, the first Christian Socialist movement came to an end in 1854. The Socialists had failed in their experiment, but they had accomplished a great work. They had given an intellectual expression to the new democratic tendencies. They had striven to popularize and humanize what was then a rather unpopular and inhuman thing—the teaching of the English Church. They had shown (Kingsley in particular had shown it) that a clergyman must think more of the actual needs and

nature of the people than of his embroideries and rituals. They had inaugurated a new phase of national thought. Neither were immediate practical results wanting. They had collected a vast amount of evidence on industrial questions; they had exercised an unmistakable influence on political subjects, and had been largely instrumental in gaining sanitary and other improvements. Their writings—more especially Kingsley's novels—had made an appeal to all classes of readers and had stirred the national conscience. And if further proof of their power is wanting, let it be given in the furious attentions paid them by their opponents—never has a popular movement been more violently assailed by a foe made aware of his moral insecurity.

The spirit of the movement was not in reality checked by its disorganization, and, although there was no formal association of Church Socialists until twenty-three years later, the force of the present social movement in the churches is certainly a consequence of the early Christian Socialist labors. The very year which saw the disbanding of the Christian Socialists saw the founding of the Working Men's College, with Maurice as president. It is only necessary to glance at a few names on the teachers' list (taking a period of several years) to see in what direction the finest intellect of that age was tending. Here are some of the names: Ruskin, D. G. Rossetti, Huxley, Tyndall, Madox Brown, Frederick Harrison, Professor Seeley, Arthur Hughes, Val Prinsep, the Lushingtons, and C. H. Pearson.

The winter and spring of 1854 was spent by Kingsley and his family at Torquay. The clergy of this place were thrown into panic at his approach, and he was denied the courtesy of the pulpit in all their churches. It is doubtful whether this caused him much disappointment. He spent the greater part of his time on the shore, indulging his naturalist and poetic passions and greatly benefiting in health. Kingsley is so well known as a nature student and as a writer of charming and thoughtful essays in natural research that there is no need to speak in detail of these wanderings on the seashore, when each withdrawing tide left a store of things wonderful, many-coloured and new. It was here that visions of old sea romance gave him the first ideas of "Westward Ho!"

He was busy this year agitating on behalf of sanitary reforms, and was a member of the deputation to Lord Palmerston on this subject. The condition of Eversley as regarded drainage, etc., weighed heavily upon him. He did all that was possible to secure improvements, but the parish was poor and landlords (as landlords are) indifferent. He himself, and all England with him, was at this time profoundly stirred by the Crimean War.

The Midway of Life.

It is not possible for me to give more than a very condensed account of Kingsley's later activities. The purpose of this essay is the study of Kingsley as a democratic Christian and a reformer. Those who wish to read of his family life, and to form a closer

acquaintance with a most lovable and virile character, must read the standard biography, "Letters and Memories of His Life," edited by his wife, from which I have drawn much of the information set forth in this paper. Some brief survey of character I must necessarily give before the conclusion of the present study, but only a few facts and only those which most nearly concern my subject can be selected from the years of crowded activity following 1854.

We do not find Kingsley writing much on the Crimea. The war was to him "a dreadful nightmare," though it awoke the soldier-spirit in him, and his enthusiasm for the heroes of Sebastopol was intense. In a few hours' time he wrote a tract, "Brave Words to Brave Soldiers and Sailors," many thousands of which were distributed in the Crimea, and must have proved a wholesome alternative to the usual "goody-goody" pamphlets which the soldiers treated as so much waste paper. Cholera was still making an appearance here and there in 1855, and in the winter an outbreak occurred at Bideford, where Kingsley had taken a house. During this visitation he took charge of a district. The outbreak does not appear to have been very serious, and we find him, the same winter, instituting an evening drawing-class for the young men of Bideford, of which he was himself the instructor. The sureness and rapidity with which he drew flowers or symmetrical figures on the blackboard won the admiration of his pupils. The classes became popular, and many a young loafer was enticed from the street corner to become more and more fascinated by the kindly manner and (to him, at any rate) almost unearthly accomplishments of the strange "parson."

As years went by the Rector of Eversley gained a popularity which was at times almost embarrassing. He disliked the parade of carriages and the "talking after church" on Sundays. But for those who came to him privately to discuss his books or confide in him their perplexities and sorrows he had a warm affection. After the founding of the camp at Aldershot, the "dear fellows"—officers of all grades besides rank and file—paid frequent visits to the church and the rectory. One of these became a familiar friend of the Kingsleys. He had been out in the Crimea, and had read "Yeast" when lying grievously stricken in the hospital at Scutari. The hunting scene had made an especial appeal—one can imagine the effect of such a vivid home-picture on a wounded man in Scutari—and he resolved that if ever he got back to England he would go and hear the parson who could write such fine sporting descriptions. He came, still on crutches. Such episodes show very clearly one aspect of Kingsley's appeal to his contemporaries—the appeal of a strong man to strong men. "He loved men and manly pursuits," to quote the words of an officer who used to walk over from Aldershot, and who shall say that he was not himself a tried and battle-worn fighter? Kingsley was a welcome guest at mess; he entered into the studies and organization of the Staff College with the deepest interest, and his advice to sportsmen—"He told us the best meets of the hounds, the nearest cut to the covers, the best trout streams, and the home of the largest pike"—must have made him extremely popular.

But the real significance of all this soldier intercourse was this: Charles Kingsley was the very man to present religion in a form acceptable to the soldier temperament. To a soldier, manhood is the greatest thing in the world, and the greatest qualities of manhood are courage, physical prowess, endurance, kindness without weakness or wordiness, loyalty, honesty, and a sane patriotism. All these qualities were to be found in Kingsley, with the spirit and mind of a Christian teacher superadded. We can picture such a man casting a net with the first apostles, and proving himself as hard-working a fisherman as any of them, not afraid of soiling his hands with the common labors of common men. Kingsley, in fact, preached the *manliness* of his creed, a sin unpardonable to the High Church exquisites of that time. He spoke, never as a superior person to inferior sinners, but as a man who respected and loved all men. He was thus loved and respected by all who came within the circle of his influence. The soldier loved him for his vigor and sincerity (the soldier cannot analyse, but he can appreciate character, and knows the true from the false) and listened to him because he was no humbug, and always dealt boldly with the truth. His influence among all grades of the service at Aldershot and Sandhurst was therefore strongly marked. He taught the men what is none too much in evidence in the Church of to-day—that manliness and Christianity are not merely reconcilable, but are positively essential to each other.

Soldiers were by no means his only visitors. One is glad to notice that clergymen figure in the visitors' list—of various denominations and opinions. All sorts of men came. Beneath the fir trees on that little sloping lawn they discussed all manner of things. Kingsley was fitted for conversation with every type of man and for sympathy with every kind of nature. He loved and understood them all.

His scientific repute gained him the membership of the Linnæan Society. Literary folk were delighted with the "Prose Idylls" and other essays.

Meanwhile the Christian Socialists, working independently or in other organizations, were assisting in the advance of democracy. Trade depression was severe in 1857, and a committee of enquiry was formed, known as the "Association for the Promotion of Social Science." Maurice, Hughes, and Ludlow all took part in this work. Maurice was a member of the committee, and the report, which was published in 1860, contained contributions from the Christian Socialists. It must be understood that, although I still employ the original term as a matter of convenience, there was not at this time any organized group of Church Socialists, and the public no longer recognized the existence of any special doctrine or activity known as Christian Socialism.

Kingsley became more and more devoted to the cause of sanitary reform. In his opinion, physics and theology should go hand in hand, and he regarded a certain amount of scientific knowledge as a thing indispensable in a clergyman. I am convinced that this

opinion foreshadows the future development of the Church, and points the way to a new meaning and efficiency.

In 1860 Kingsley was appointed to the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge. In the autumn of the same year he and his family entered into residence. It was natural that the same qualities in Kingsley which had appealed to the soldiers should appeal to the undergraduates. He became the hero of the young men. Never has Cambridge known a more popular lecturer or one more sincerely worshipped by his disciples. He began in the smaller rooms of the Schools. They were not big enough. He had to lecture in the biggest room of all, and that was not big enough. Strange scene at professorial lectures, enthusiasm would run high. The lectures were interrupted by irrepressible cheering. Kingsley would stammer, with emotion, "Gentlemen, you must not do it." It was no good, they *would* cheer. The men were not merely interested in the great personality of their lecturer; they were interested in his subjects. The University Librarian was asked for books which seldom left the shelves. Kingsley made them think, and he made them work, too. There was never yet, I suppose, a really great man who failed to gain the younger sympathies of the age. It is very clear that Kingsley had gained them, for all the groans and sneers of the Puseyites.

The Last Ten Years.

Newman's attack on the English Church could not pass unnoticed by such a loyal Churchman as Kingsley. Newman was, no doubt, his superior in sheer intellect, in theological subtlety, and in the ponderous resources of academic style. In the controversial sense Kingsley was beaten, though we are assured that it was out of a courteous regard for Newman's health, his disinclination for argument, and other personal reasons, that he forbore to attack with vehemence. This may be partly true. It is certain, however, that he had found his match. Probably no living theologian could have gained a victory over one whose craft and scholarship were unequalled, and who was as certain to maintain his defence with vigilance and caution as he was to attack with resistless weight and infallible sagacity. Maurice, who respected the learning and character of Newman, however widely he dissented from his views, "would have given much" to have withheld Kingsley from the dispute.

Hughes, Neale, Ludlow, and others of the Christian Socialist band were active in industrial affairs in 1866. The Cobden Mills were founded by Neale, Greening, Ludlow, Hughes, and Morrison. After some twenty-four years of a rather disastrous existence, the business was disposed of, and thus ended the largest, and in some ways most celebrated, experiment of Christian Socialism. Kingsley does not appear to have taken an active interest in these affairs (his former comrades were zealously fighting on behalf of trade unionism for many years), though he was always in favor of associative principles in trade. It is probable that three causes were responsible for this apparent withdrawal: first, the cooling (though only to a cer

tain extent) of his early democratic ardor; second, the necessarily changed and enlarged sphere of work, the result of public recognition and celebrity; and third, a gradual decline in health which marks these last years of his life.

Science absorbed his attention to a greater and greater degree. He was a member both of the Linnæan and Geological Societies, had evolved a theory of raised beaches, and was a keen Darwinian. The Knightsbridge Professorship falling vacant in 1866, he wrote to Maurice, urging him to accept this appointment. It was only with difficulty that Maurice could be persuaded. "At sixty-one," he said, "I am perhaps past such work." The question of election depended on the votes of the seven electors. Four of them voted for Maurice, one for a man of his own college, and the two others abstained, but expressed satisfaction with the result. It must have been with huge personal delight that Kingsley (himself an elector) sent him a telegram announcing his triumph. He wrote later: "Your triumph could not have been more complete. My heart is as full as a boy's. I thought I should have been 'upset' when I saw the result." The two friends (or the master and the disciple, as Kingsley would have said) were thus associated in professorial work, both honored by the same university, and both happy in this latter-day closening of their friendship.

Kingsley had won recognition among all classes as a man of honest purpose, gifts approximating to genius, a sound theology, and the talents of a skilled author and graceful poet. He was none the less, perhaps for this very reason, ferociously assailed by the press. In consequence of these attacks he was on the point of resigning the professorship, but he was advised to retain it for at least another year. Accordingly, after nine years' experience as a Cambridge professor—years which had seen his greatest intellectual attainments and the most fruitful expression of his teaching—he resigned the post in 1869. His last series of lectures made a great impression.

The close of this year is marked by the fulfilment of one of his great ambitions, a voyage to the West Indies. It was the great holiday of his life. This world could not have supplied such a man as Kingsley—a poet-naturalist—with anything more perfectly enjoyable. He saw "enough to last him his life." He was mad with delight. He was actually moving in the land of romance he had dreamed and written of. He was a boy, full of wonder and surprise. He was an adventurer in tropical forests. He was a sea rover. The Regius Professor was buried!

Parish work, scientific work, three months' residence as Canon of Chester, a discussion with John Stuart Mill on Woman Suffrage, and a huge correspondence with various men on various subjects give a summary of 1870. He was a Teuton in sympathy during the war of 1870-71. He condemned the French policy and the French leadership: it was a righteous and even necessary war for Germany. In 1871 we find him again asserting the need to include physical learning in the general theological course. He realized that the older school of natural theology would be compelled to abandon many of its

positions, or, rather, to develop in accordance with the great scientific revolutions of the nineteenth century. He saw that the religion of the future would lay stress on the scientific basis of modern thought, and that the priest of the future would deal less with fable and more with fact. Whether he was right in seeking to unite the functions of preacher and sanitary inspector quite as definitely as he proposed we need not stop to consider. He was certainly right in supposing that religion must pass from a superstitious to a scientific phase. His lectures at this period, particularly those on geological and natural history subjects, were very remarkable. The death of Maurice, in 1872, was a sad loss to Kingsley, and a certain despondency—partly the result of an over-worked and continuously active brain—seems more or less evident in his letters and conversation. But in the autumn of this year he achieved a great practical triumph for the cause which was so dear to him. As President of the Midland Institute he delivered the inaugural address (on the "Science of Health") at Birmingham. One of his listeners immediately placed the sum of two and a half thousand pounds at the disposal of a scheme for classes and lectures on this subject, with a low rate of payment for artizans. The project was successful, and the impetus was thus given to a very noble and necessary work. In 1873 he accepted the Canonry of Westminster, where he preached the well-known series of sermons. 1874 was largely taken up by a tour in America, crammed full of all manner of activities, and ending with a severe illness and a slow recovery in Colorado. He returned to Eversley in August. It was a hot, dry month, there was much sickness in the village, and he was busy attending to the people at all hours, and apparently with all his energy restored. But his health was rapidly failing. After his return to Westminster in the autumn he was again ill; he was now able only to preach once a week, and, although his sermons were still powerful and forcibly delivered, men were shocked to see the change in him, the worn cheeks and the bent figure. His wife's dangerous illness caused him the greatest suffering. On Advent Sunday he preached his last Abbey sermon "with intense fervor." The next day he caught a chill after dining at the Deanery, probably the direct cause of his death. The return journey to Eversley proved too much for his wife, and the happiness of a Christmas home-coming, so dearly longed for, was turned to a sad ministering in what seemed then to be the chamber of death. Kingsley himself grew rapidly worse. Eventually he was unable to bear the terrible strain of carrying on a pencilled intercourse with his wife, who was supposed by all to be dying. His illness (pneumonia) was fast gaining the mastery, yet his fortitude and superb courage remained unshaken. He died on the morning of January 23rd, at the age of fifty-five. His wife recovered.

His Character and Teaching.

In discussing the Socialism of Charles Kingsley, which is identical with that of the Christian Socialist group, we must bear in mind two very important facts: First, that he was remarkably constitutional in

principle and method, and by no means revolutionary ; and, second, that his conception of Democracy was one that accepted the existing order of society with all its grades and traditions, and believed that the healthy functioning of that society was all that was needed to ensure the communal welfare. If anything was wrong—and a great deal was wrong—then the fault lay, not with the class, but with the individual. And even if the majority of individuals composing a class were at fault, that was no argument against the class itself, or, rather, against the necessity for the existence of the class. With a majority at fault, the class was *not* performing its true functions ; it was not, therefore, to be abolished, but called back to its duty ; the diseased organ was to be cured, by surgical steel at the worst, but not removed. There was, as I have mentioned, a divine purpose and order in the system of classes. A landed aristocracy was not only a necessary thing, it was "a blessing to the country." The House of Lords represented all that was noble and permanent in the national character (observe, *permanent!*) ; it represented the hereditary instinct, which bound together men of the past, present, and future ages. Royalty was a thing to be revered, because it was royalty. In short, the organization of the unproductive classes was very beautiful, useful, and necessary ; many individuals who belonged to these classes might fail to observe their duties, or, worse still, undertake duties which were not their own, but the class itself was a needful prop of the social fabric ; and, if the tendencies of its components had to be corrected, the thing itself must be preserved at all costs.

The Socialism of Kingsley.

Where then, you may say, is the Socialism in all this? Of modern Socialism there is little trace, and yet it was in this urging of the duty of classes, especially as regarded the treatment of the poor, provision for the health and security of the laboring classes, and the effective ministering of the Church, that Kingsley proved himself a powerful democratic force. His accusation was so vehement that his conservative principles were frequently drowned beneath a full tide of revolt. The organization of trade (which in his mind was a thing apart from the organization of classes) seemed to him to need immediate reform. If, therefore, he was a Conservative as regarded the blessing of an aristocracy, he was an extreme Radical where the working classes were concerned. It is impossible for a man of strong and observant character not to possess democratic tendencies. In Kingsley those tendencies were invigorated by the scenes and events of a revolutionary period, and became the dominant force of his career. He was deeply aware, too, of the fact that the Church was in danger of losing the sympathy of the people ; that she was becoming an exclusive and mystic organization, unduly given to the study of rituals, and not noticing the bad drains and worse morality of the "lower orders" ; for the Christian Socialist ideal for the Church was that it should work *with*, and not apart from, the secular workers. When he signed his Chartist placards as "A Working Parson," he knew that he implied a pretty obvious

distinction. Kingsley was a Conservative by birth and tradition, a Chartist through force of circumstances, and a Socialist through sheer manliness and force of character. He belonged to a period when the English gentleman, though growing rare, was not obsolete, and when the middle classes did really advocate what they understood to be progressive measures. He aimed, not at a reform of society in general (which would have struck him as a blasphemous subversion of "God's order"), but at the reform of industrial life and of the Church, the first to be made wholesome and the latter efficient.

The views and methods of Kingsley and his friends have now been sufficiently commented on by the actual passing of time and the development of modern thought. We see the clearer for their mistakes, and are the richer for their noble examples and the fine courage of their teaching. It would be entering upon a fruitless controversy to discuss here the ethics of association, the question of the self-governing workshop, or the future position of the Church. Kingsley's power is to be found, not in the startling or original nature of his views, but in his manly and uncompromising advocacy of those views, and in the example of a most living and vigorous personality.

His Personality.

Like all poets, he was immensely receptive. His emotions were frequently and profoundly stirred by a suggestive fact or a touching scene. He was in love with Nature—every leaf, every cloud, the storm song of winter, rain, sun, the moorland, and the seashore, everything was wonderful and loveable. He possessed the most astounding vitality. It is not recorded of any man that he was more *alive*. His life was one continual excitement. In speech his vehemence was extraordinary. He would begin with a slight stammer and hesitation, but when fairly started, his oratory was fluent and impressive. His sense of the dramatic was unusually keen. He was one of the most influential and celebrated preachers of the time, and as a lecturer his repute was equally great.

He was a man of rare humor, and dearly loved anything that was laughable or even "broad." He could enjoy a page of Rabelais or a sly anecdote of Sterne's as much as anyone. His letters are full of pleasantry, and serve well to illustrate his versatile nature. For instance, he is writing to Tom Hughes, and is giving him some fishing experiences, with all sorts of expert comments on brass minnows, March browns, and so forth, when all at once, and without the least pause for breath, we find him talking of a poor parishioner who is lying on his deathbed. Cant or falseness of any kind were abominable to his sincere nature. A tramp who saw fit to assume the attitude and contortions of a religious zealot was seized by the collar, soundly shaken, and hurried outside Eversley gates with no little wrath.

Two answers of his, written in one of those horrible albums so typical of the Victorian drawing room, are interesting. "The character you most dislike?—Myself. Your ambition?—To die."

He was not a man who cared for distinction or notoriety. He acknowledged a "hankering after" the D.C.L. of Oxford, which was denied him; but he realized his two "great ambitions," membership of the Linnæan and Geological Societies.

Kingsley did much to popularize the study of physics and natural science, and presented the facts of advanced scientific thought in a way calculated not to hurt religious sensitiveness. I have mentioned that he foresaw the alliance which must some day openly take place between science and religion, and that he was anxious for the education of clergymen in other matters besides those which relate solely to theology. His own religion cannot be said to come under any of the recognized categories. No party of the Church could claim him. He was opposed to the extreme mysticism of the High Church, but had little sympathy with the severe ritual of the Moderates. He was no friend to dogmatism of any sort. He was described by his curate, Harrison, as "a free lance in the ecclesiastical field."

The most immediate and most practical results of his activity are unquestionably to be found in the improvements in sanitary affairs and in the general education of working men. The latter is less directly due to his influence than the former (in which he was said by a great London doctor to have "led the way"), but it was certainly greatly advanced by his teaching and lectures.

The charge of inconsistency has been brought against him with regard to his democratic faith. "In later years," says Martineau, "his convictions became more in accord with *the natural tenaency of his mind*" (whatever that means), "and he gradually modified or abandoned his democratic opinions." I can see no trace of all this. The burning enthusiasm of youth may have left him; his opinions never did. From first to last Charles Kingsley was a democrat—and *that*, I take it, was the "natural tendency of his mind"—and he never proved false to his social creed. The multiplicity of affairs and a life overcrowded with interests and duties prevented him from devoting himself to a special and continuous work on behalf of Socialism. None the less, the author of "Alton Locke" and "The Message of the Church" was no changed man when, in 1866, he welcomed Maurice to Cambridge.

It is not the place here to speak of his home life, of his chivalrous devotion, his intimate sympathies, pictures of the lawn or the fireside, scenes typical of the English rectory. His love for animals, for all living things, with the exception of spiders, is well known. Like Agassiz, he believed in their *post mortem* existence. Those who wish to read a detailed, though necessarily partial, account of his life must turn to the "Letters and Memories."

The Present and the Future.

We cannot doubt that Socialism in the Churches represents a very powerful and very necessary expression of social democracy. Religious Socialism is gaining rapidly in numbers and efficiency, and may quite possibly modify the whole course of religious thought in

the future. Whatever significance the movement may have to-day, whatever power it may have in the future, the names of its two great founders, Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley, their noble examples of courage, manliness, and faith, will always figure large on the first pages of its history.

For the above summary of Kingsley's life and his relations with the Christian Socialist Movement I am indebted very largely to the standard biography referred to, and also, in addition to his own writings, to the "Life of F. D. Maurice," edited and partly written by his son, Woodworth's "Christian Socialism in England," Stubbs's "Charles Kingsley and the Christian Socialist Movement," Rose's "Rise of Democracy," and Engels' "Condition of the English Working Classes."

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Printed by G. Standring, 17 & 19 Finsbury St., London, E.C. and published by the Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth St., Westminster London. S.W.1.

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